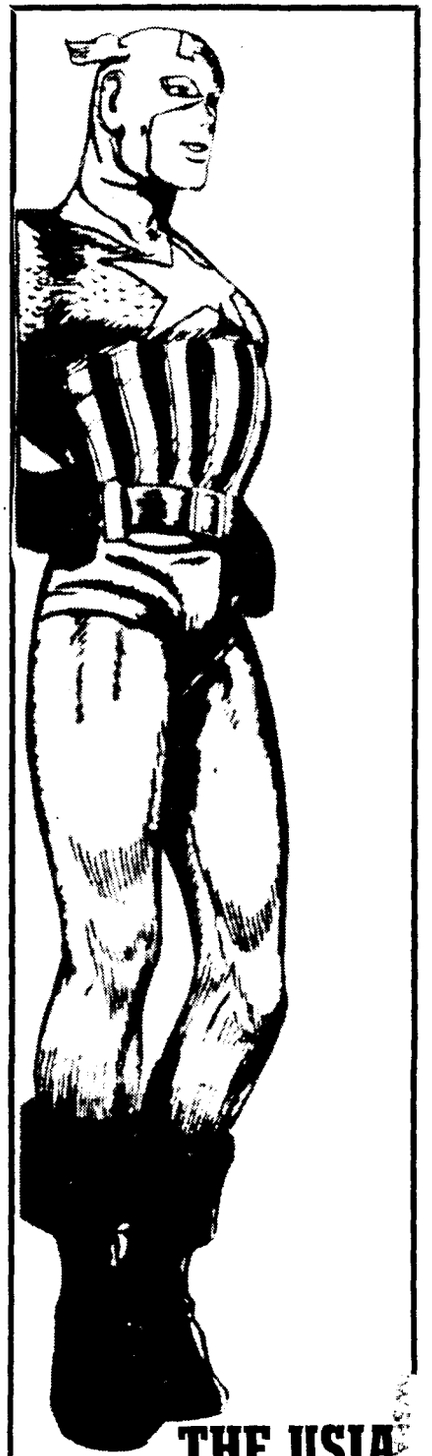
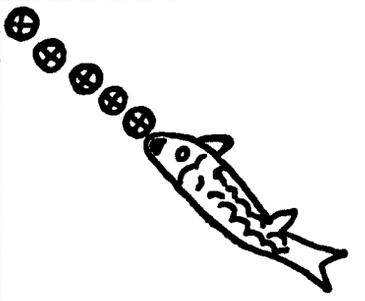
Volume XCVI No. 9 May 5, 1972 40 cents

commonweal

CATHOLIC CHARISMATICS
KILIAN McDONNELL



THE USIA AND THE LAW
THOMAS A. DINE



BISHOPS MEET IN ATLANTA
JOHN OVERBROOK

ST. CHARLES SEMINARY LIBRARY
[illegible] REG'D
CARTHAGENA STATION, CELINA, OHIO

STAGE:
GERALD WEALES
on SMALL CRAFT WARNINGS

NOVAK:
SIX MORE CRISES FOR RICHARD NIXON

REVIEWS:
GEORGE N. SHUSTER
JOHN P. REID
GEORGE McCANDLISH

A-73554 12-72
ST CHARLES SEMNRY LIB
CARTHAGENA STATION
CELINA OH 45822

PHENOMENON?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS & VIEWS

Playing Chess With Checkers

Emile de Antonio imparted an interesting piece of history regarding Richard Nixon's Checkers Speech of 1952, in talking to Liberation News Service about his documentary, *Milhouse: A White Comedy*.

The speech is included in de Antonio's film, but it took some doing to get hands on it.

"He's smart," said de Antonio. "The Checkers Speech was taken out of circulation by Nixon—it was suppressed. We got it from the movement. That's the only reason it's in the film *Milhouse*. Nobody had seen Checkers from 1952 to 1971, because Nixon bought it up. I tried to get it in 1968. When I called the networks and asked, can I get a look at Checkers. And they said, oh sure, we'll send it over. Then the guy called the next day and said you can't have it—it turns out a client owns it and nobody can look at it. I said who's the client? And they said the Republican National Committee. So I called the Republican National Committee and they said you can't have it; Mr. Nixon owns it."

Why He's Staying

Swiss theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar shared with *The Furrow*, scholarly Irish journal, his reasons for remaining in the Catholic church:

(1) "The old catholica still resembles the church which leaps to the eyes from the pages of St. Paul's epistles and the Acts; (2) being the Church of the Apostles she alone knows what commission by, and service of the Lord means, and can give to me the Bread and Wine of Life; and (3) it is the church of the saints, both the hidden ones and those others who have been pushed into the limelight."

Finally, von Balthasar is quoted, the church "is the only chance there is of freeing myself from this curse which is the deadweight of self. I mean by that the role which becomes identical with oneself, so that in loving my role I fall in love with myself; to be rid of that but not alienated from man, because God made man not in a vacuum, but in the dimensions of community, in the church. I do not doubt for one moment that God's incarnation envisages all men and that he is sufficiently God to attain to all whom he wills. But God set up in the middle of mankind's history of horrors and abominations a bridal bed, shining and unsullied, which is described in the Song of Songs. And the endless problem of the history of the church is not so murky that the light of love does not come shining through again and again in the lives of her saints.

"Of course the church 'should do this, should do the other.' She 'should do' everything, and much more than she is ever capable of doing. But should not the words 'the church should do this' mean 'I should do it'? All the more so, seeing I receive from the church far more than I deserve and far beyond the giving of any person or human organization. Therefore, it is my concern, the concern of all of us, that the church should more perfectly correspond to what she is in actuality."

Burger's Bungling

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, who is not winning many admirers beyond the Supreme Court, seems also to be losing ground with his Court colleagues. That's the conclusion of *Washington Post* staffer John P. MacKenzie.

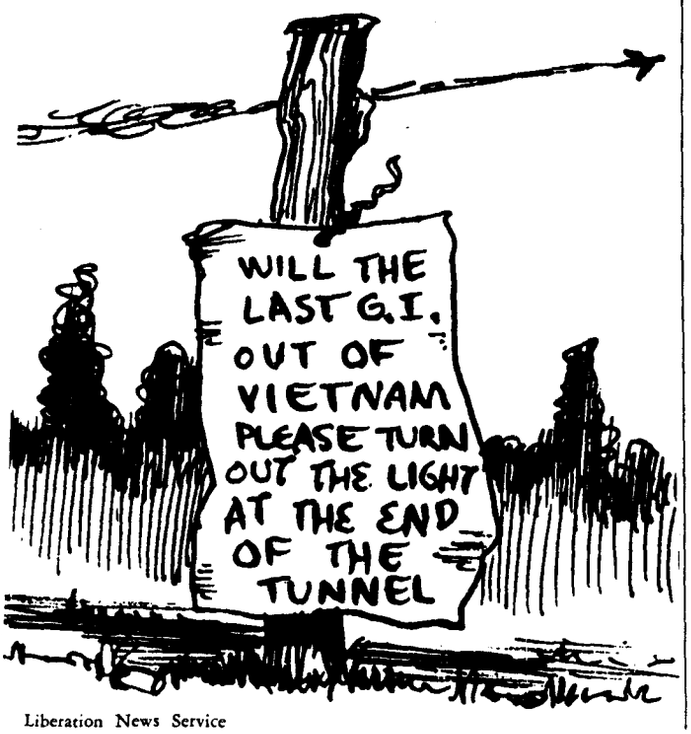
"Despite the recent arrival of more like-minded justices, Burger is increasingly and conspicuously on his own in solitary dissent and separate opinion," MacKenzie writes. "Even his erstwhile 'Minnesota Twin,' Justice Harry A. Blackmun, is starting to part company with Burger."

But Burger's problems within the Court are not solely professional (Burger is faulted not only for certain legal opinions, but for failure to "bring the Court together" as a cohesive high bench); they're also of a personal nature.

"Curiously and with apparent thoughtlessness," says MacKenzie, "Burger made one drastic change that caused severe misgivings. He converted the conference room, where the justices met as nine equals to deliberate secretly on cases, into his personal office.

"And when Congress came through with requested money for staff increases, Burger personally hired a third clerk for each justice, invading each colleague's personal prerogative in a way that only a veteran justice could fully appreciate."

MacKenzie credits Burger with some points, but is doubtful something properly called a "Burger Court" will soon emerge. "The immediate outlook," he says, "is for a polarized if not splintered Court."



Liberation News Service

Odds and Ends

—*Christianity & Crisis*' "Saint Hereticus" sports with John Mitchell's comment, "There is about as much connection with the ITT antitrust suit and the Republican Convention going to San Diego as there is between the Lord and the devil." . . . "That's much too close for comfort," says Hereticus, recalling Old and New Testament contacts between the two. If the connection between the ITT antitrust suit and the Republican Convention "is only as close as the connection 'between the Lord and the devil,' we can rightly assume that the connection is very close indeed." Hereticus puts Mitchell's remark down to bad theology, and suggests he take theological lessons from wife Martha, who showed what could be done with theology in Washington when she urged that Senator Fulbright be "crucified"—"a well-known theological method of dealing with one's opponents," Hereticus observes.

—A Washington bumper-sticker proclaims: NIXON HAS HAD ITT.

JOHN DEEDY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

The Ethnic Blues

Mont Vernon, N. H.

To the Editors: Michael Novak came to New Hampshire ["The First Scrimmage," Mar. 31] to back Muskie and they both ended up losing and crying. Muskie, hoping to be a silent Lincoln, couldn't understand why the people wanted more than platitudes. And Novak came armed with an ethnic theory and couldn't believe that the ethnic groups wouldn't follow Novak's ethnic theory. The gall of them. So Novak had to break down, cry and call all those who voted against him and his "Polish uncle," WASPs. I guess a WASP is a former ethnic group that builds poor highways in N.H. and blunders into voting against Muskie and Novak. I hope someday Novak comes to understand why Muskie was crying in N.H. Possibly, it might have helped if Novak had stayed here more than a few days and gone to more than campaign headquarters, or over to Durham to watch a TV debate. Possibly, spending some time in the mills, among the students, up state and with the canvassers would have given more reality to his report. He really had to know almost nothing about N.H. to claim that McGovern rode into N.H. on the back of an ancient WASP ethic. Do Irish and Jews really become WASPs by voting against Novak's ethnic theories? Will the Mexican-Americans be as quickly absorbed if they also defect? Does one substantiate a new ethnic theory (really, Pat Monyihan's old one) by new ethnic slurs? It's ironic, but the whole complexities of power as they operate in N.H. were lost on Novak.

I'm afraid Novak is doing what his "Polish uncle" is doing, spreading himself so thin that he misses the locals. Will Novak be able to keep his theory pure and intact from all contamination with the locals? Tune in next state, next week and see. Novak's haste and bias against the local realities cause him

(Continued on page 222)

NEWS & VIEWS: 202 **CORRESPONDENCE: 203**
EDITORIALS: 203
THE BISHOPS MARCH ON ATLANTA: *John Overbrook* **204**
SIX MORE CRISES: *Michael Novak* **206**
CATHOLIC CHARISMATICS: *Kilian McDonnell* **207**
BREAKING THE LAW FOR BUCKLEY, BRUTES AND BIG BUSINESS: *Thomas A. Dine* **212**
STUDENT ACTIVISM: MYTH OR FACT? An Exchange of Views 216
VERSE: *T. Alan Broughton* **211**; *James Sullivan* **217**
THE STAGE: *Gerald Weales* **214**
BOOKS: *George N. Shuster, John P. Reid, George McCandlish* **218**
ILLUSTRATIONS: *Cover I, "Captain America" by Stan Lee, Jack Kirby, Marvel Comics*

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor* JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
RAYMOND A. SCHROTH: *Assistant Editor* ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant*
PHILIP T. HARTUNG, COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*
BRIAN WICKER: *Great Britain* ALAIN WOODROW: *Paris*
HENRY TEN KORTENAAR: *Rome* JOHN HORGAN: *Dublin*
LOUIS MICHAEL COLONNESE: *Latin America*
EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher* JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

COMMONWEAL *A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.*
Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.
Printed in the USA and published weekly,
except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September,
by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 3-2042. *Copyright © 1972 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.*
US and Canada; $14 a year. Foreign $16. Single copies 40¢

STUDENTS, ARISE

It is good to see the universities back where they belong—in the movement against the Vietnam war. In times of crisis, the universities, sometimes more than the church, courts, press or Presidency, must become the conscience of the nation; and we have suffered from their silence. This two-year campus calm was not due to apathy. The young have been slowly shaking off the shock of watching their President announce the Cambodian invasion and hearing him call campus demonstrators "bums," and seeing their comrades shot dead at Kent State. Now perhaps the wounds have healed and a new generation of students has begun to realize that, for all its sins, America is the only country they have, that they have a stake in its future, and must do something to save it from itself.

By cutting down on draft calls and American casualties the President may have undercut the protesters for a while. But, in the long run, he has purified the movement of its selfishness, eliminating those who were in it just to save their skins, and revealed, in all its cruelty, the fundamental racist premise of his Vietnamization strategy. Now, we suspect, the protests will be different. The generation has changed. The extreme student Left has discredited itself by its violence—which aped the violence of the Johnson-Nixon strategy—its political impotence, its boring and irrelevant ideological rhetoric about the "student-worker alliance" and the "tin miners in Bolivia." Nor should the student anti-war movement cling to the overtones of the generational conflict. Parents too have been repelled by the moral bankruptcy of the Nixon policies; in the mass demonstrations to come, fathers and sons can march together.

What can students do? First, recognize that the real enemy is not the university. It makes no sense to shut a university down when the university, by its power to join thought to action, must be a community of moral strength for the anti-war effort. Nor does it make sense to shout down administration speakers or disrupt classes. Leave such oppression to Thieu. The enemy is Nixon. Students should: (1) challenge their uncommitted faculty and administrators to discuss their stand on the war and ask their help in organizing for political action; (2) boycott, and have their parents boycott, products made by war-related industries; (3) demand disclosure

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of how the university's portfolio is invested; (4) pressure their parish priests and councils to discuss the morality of the war; (5) use their campus publications and radio stations to heighten public awareness; (6) confront their Congressmen, register and vote.

A word to Catholic colleges. Why must the leadership in this effort against a war which even the American bishops have recognized as wrong always come from the secular universities? The joint statement by the presidents of the eight Ivy League universities and M.I.T. deploring the bombing of North Vietnam and its civilian population was an adequate one; but we hope that Catholic educators can do better. Those Catholic college presidents who issued the statement protesting the invasion of Cambodia two years ago should get together again and tell the President that as academic and spiritual leaders they will not tolerate this betrayal of America's religious heritage. Otherwise, Nixon, who has promised money for Catholic schools, may well feel he has bought the silence of the church.

Catholic colleges are supposed to be different—more prophetic than their secular counterparts. If not, they should close. If Catholic colleges simply get their students into medical school but do not teach them the infinite value of every human life they will have failed the Christian tradition. If they get their graduates into law school but do not teach them to hunger and thirst after justice for all men, including political prisoners, they will have failed their students and their society. If they teach them to love God, but do not teach them to love their brothers whom they have not seen—across the world, in flaming villages and in Hanoi and Haiphong—they will have failed their students, failed God, and failed themselves.

The Bishops March on Atlanta

Atlanta, a city which in recent years has managed to blend its quaint, old-fashioned airs with a dynamic (and sometimes dazzlingly beautiful) modernity, a city which is coming to symbolize freedom and (relative) enlightenment in what may become a new South, a city which rebuilt itself a century ago from the ashes of near total devastation. . . . Atlanta, to cut this short before it gets out of control, was a fine, symbolic choice of site for a meeting of the U.S. Catholic hierarchy in spring-'72.

Whether the bishops and the dioceses they shepherd will fulfill the symbolism inherent in Atlanta remains to be seen. Their church is currently trying to find a *modus convivendi* for the old and the new, as Atlanta has done very neatly, but in Atlanta it is the traces of the last century, not the wave of the future, that flourishes in a sector called the "underground." There are those who hope that the American segment of Catholicism might be to the church at large what Atlanta is becoming to the South, a center of freedom and reasoned dialogue and perhaps a preview of a better future. The church has not yet suffered anything as devastating as what Sherman did to Atlanta, but the need for rebuilding is nonetheless obvious.

Did the bishops rise to the challenge which confronts them twice a year and which could have been focused in Atlanta? Well, they voted to ask Rome whether they could ordain married deacons at age 30 rather than 35. (Under the present age limit, one bishop noted, Jesus Christ could not have become a deacon.) They approved budget reductions foreshadowed at their meeting last November, phasing out the Division for United Nations Affairs, merging the International Affairs and Social Development Department and consolidating the Adult Education and Religious Education/CCD Divisions of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

The National Office for Black Catholics, poor stepchild of the Bishops' Conference, received a pat on the head but, once again, no funds. The bishops "commended" a fund-raising drive planned for next October to support the NOBC and to be held "in parishes that are serving the Black communities." To a non-Black, this looks like an unpromising financial base—but we shall see.

The bishops heard, with mixed reactions, an incomplete report indicating that their most promising recent project, the Campaign for Human Development, fell off badly in its second annual collection. The most probable daignosis is that, the first time around, the Campaign made the mistake of giving its money to too many of the wrong people—i.e., those who needed it and knew what to do with it; Blacks, Chicanos, Appalachians (I suppose that's their name), sharecroppers, unwed mothers . . . not the sort of people one wants in the neighborhood.

One of the other factors that may have crimped the CHD collection was an ugly word-of-mouth campaign last fall that said some CHD money was going to agencies that arranged or counseled abortions. No evidence was given to support this but, if there had been any doubt, the Atlanta meeting made it clear that the U.S. bishops oppose abortion. How effectively they oppose it is another question.

In response to the recent report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, which endorsed the idea of abortion on demand, the bishops unanimously approved a statement whose only practical effect was to recommend a week of prayer and study on the value of human life sometime next October. An effort was made to link the anti-abortion statement with another one upholding the value of the human lives threatened by our escalated bombing in Southeast Asia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But that effort was aborted.

One of the more striking innovations at the meeting was the presentation of a draft text on the doctrinal content to be covered in Catholic religious education programs—a preliminary step toward an American Catechetical Directory like the one issued some months ago in Rome. As an introductory note observes, the bishops were given "a text which is based on the Roman document, but expressed in more readable English than the official translation." It is a pity that this radical departure in Englishing the text had not been introduced earlier, before a booklet which should obviously have been called "Catechetical Guidelines" was branded forever with a name that makes most people think of a list of names in schematic or alphabetical order.

Such were the weighty matters that preoccupied the successors of the Twelve at their Spring meeting. And there was more.

The bishops were reassured by a report that the proposed reorganization of the National Conference of Catholic Charities (to promote social action as well as social work) was not nearly as radical as some earlier statements indicated.

Their Ad Hoc Committee on the Role of Women in Church and Society gave a report that somehow focused more on society than on the church. The bishops will be sent material on the Equal Rights Amendment recently passed by Congress, but the committee avoided taking a position either for or against the amendment. As for the possibility of ordaining women . . . well, we will have to have some theologians (including women theologians) study that question; then, if the theologians find no obstacles, the matter will have to be referred to Rome. Archbishop Leo Byrne of St. Paul-Minneapolis, who chaired the committee, seems to lean toward ordination of women—but he leans with precious little support from his colleagues.

Some controversy arose at the meeting over a theological study of the priesthood—part of a larger and more diversified study which the bishops had commissioned. Cardinal Carberry of St. Louis noted that the study diverged from (actually, he said, "differs with") the conclusions of the international Synod of Bishops held in Rome last year. The difference, it appears, was largely on the question of celibacy and the question to be decided was whether the bishops should have it published. After discussion, it was decided that the bishops' administrative committee will consider this question.

Another committee dealing with the study underwent a name change in Atlanta. The Ad Hoc Committee on the Implementation of the Bishops' Study on the Priesthood was re-baptized the Ad Hoc Committee on the Priestly Life and Ministry. If you choose to interpret this nomenclative juggling as a sign that the study will not be implemented, I would have trouble finding flaws in your logic.

What else? Well, the bishops were given but did not act on a proposal concerning a teletype link between diocesan newspapers and chancery offices and NCCB-USCC headquarters in Washington. This link would allow the transmission of news and documents from Rome to the grass roots so fast that a bishop might know about the next encyclical as soon as the rewrite desk of the *New York Times.*

At the final press conference, Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia, NCCB-USCC president, said his staff was "a bit apologetic that it had little new substantive material to present at this meeting." This was a sign, he noted, that the work of implementing the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council "is now 75 to 80 percent completed."

Despite all the routine work routinely processed at their meeting, however, the bishops did make history in Atlanta. First, they allowed the press and selected lay, religious and clerical observers to sit in at their meetings. Second, they voted to abolish the national spring meeting and substitute a dozen regional meetings.

Considering what was done and what was left undone in Atlanta, one must applaud the second decision. There were few solid accomplishments at this meeting that could not have waited for next November—or even longer—and regional meetings should be more practical and less expensive than a mass descent on Atlanta or another city by 237 bishops.

As for the opening of the meeting to the press and to representatives of the People of God, it was a fine symbolic gesture. But perhaps it involved more of an ordeal than anyone not blessed with the special graces of the episcopacy should be expected to endure. A few years ago, there were two American bishops whom one would make a special effort to go and hear—one for his keen mind and command of the language, the other for his human warmth and openness. One is now a permanent resident of Rome; the other is married.

This is not to deny that there are good men, even eloquent men in the hierarchy today—there are, but the structure of the bishops' meetings (as Auxiliary Bishop Bernard Kelly of Providence noted upon his departure from the active ministry) does not allow their goodness or their eloquence to flourish.

One of the best American bishops, Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, got off perhaps the best line of the conference in one of the corridors of the ITT subsidiary where the meeting was held. He was asked by the press why he had taken a $5 room at the YMCA rather than stay at the meeting's headquarters, the Sheraton Biltmore.

"It's the only place," said Bishop Gumbleton, "with an indoor swimming pool."

JOHN OVERBROOK

(John Overbrook is the pseudonym of an inveterate bishop-watcher. His real name is Rynne.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIX MORE CRISES

MICHAEL NOVAK

Six reasons why President Nixon is not secure in his bid for a second term: First, many even of his supporters do not deeply like or trust him. He stands upon a thin crust of approval and even part of that approval is due, not to Nixon, but to respect for the Presidency. Once there is a Democratic nominee, the symbolism of the Presidency will not be entirely his.

Secondly, Nixon's policies have a broad, thin veneer of seeming success. The North Vietnamese blitzkrieg of early April showed the fragility of Nixon's gamble in Vietnam. In primary states, candidates are surprised to discover that ordinary people respond passionately to the war issue: they want the war *over*. Many *hate* the bombing. . . . And Nixon's economic policies are equally fragile. . . . A slight change in fortune and his collapse could be sudden and complete.

Thirdly, the electorate remains turbulent and hostile to government. An incumbent is ordinarily the target of political resentment. Nixon will receive the sting of his own favorite weapon. He will be defending. Others will be accusing and rejecting.

Fourth, the America that Nixon likes to defend—the America of small-town Republicanism, optimism, uplift, the sweaty armpits of Protestant success—no longer exists, even as the secret ideal of his own constituency. He himself promotes candidates who have the Kennedy style. In 1968, as a symbol of our national life, Nixon barely managed to be credible. It was Democratic disaster, not Nixonian acceptability, that elected him.

In 1964, pundits said that the Republican party was in so pitiful a minority, so symbolically out of touch with the majority, that it might collapse as a national force. Nixon's election merely pasted over its abiding weakness. He carried no "coattails" in his victory. In 1970, the Republicans, despite enormous sums of money, again lost ground in the Congressional elections. Registrations since then vastly favor Democrats (and Independents as well).

Too many observers confuse the GOP's full coffers with its appeal to voters. And they are deceived by the symbolic power television has given the Presidency. Since Kennedy, the President has been able to shape public debate and public consciousness. Under Eisenhower, intellectuals did not look to the Presidency for their cues. Since Kennedy, too uncritically, they do.

In 1968 and 1969, Nixon invented a "silent majority" which does not exist, and a "movement to the Right," which is fictitious. These have been treated as if they really describe America. Nixon has controlled our image of America—abetted by talk of "repression" and leftwing fratricide.

What *is* true is that the intellectual wing of the Democratic party has lost credibility. It never *had* much credibility, but its enormous successes under Kennedy and Johnson briefly gave it high visibility—and a bad case of public arrogance. People sickened of it. Many became anti-expert and anti-student. That does not mean they are conservative or pro-establishment.

As Joe Duffey found out in Connecticut, the urban workers are angry, restless, and in a sharply anti-establishment mood. The course of the primaries from New Hampshire to Wisconsin still indicate that.

The success of James Buckley among the New York Irish has merely served to disguise what is happening. The disguise lies in his party's name. It is not classically conservative, but rather an anti-establishment, anti-expert movement—the movement of boys from St. John's and Fordham who don't have establishment connections. It is a movement *for* family and neighborhood and other symbols (like the flag) dear to lower-status ethnic groups. Its constituency is angry, restless, and just as capable of a strong, progressive political direction as it ever was. It is not reactionary. The *raison d'être* of the Conservative party is largely a matter of ethnicity and class: overlooked symbols, overlooked interests.

Nixon is trying hard to appeal to urban Catholic groups (abortion, school aid). He pictures himself as anti-establishment, as they are. He lines up against the Harrimans, Lodges and other Brahmins, as they have; and against the university-HEW complex, as they have. When he and Agnew attack the "media" and the "northeastern establishment," they are discreetly attacking Jewish and WASP liberal power, both of which have lost connection with urban white workers.

But try as he might, Nixon is iridescently, irrepressibly Protestant, even nativist. The innuendos and connotations of his speech bring back memories of those moral lessons imposed upon Catholics by WASPS of an earlier era: how to behave, how to learn a new attitude toward work, how to be loyal, how to look at the bright side, how to prove that they are sufficiently Americanized.

It will be interesting to see whether Nixon has won the trust of Cardinal Krol and, less significantly, Cardinal Cooke. It will be surprising if he convinces ordinary Catholics that he and they speak the same language, have the same interests.

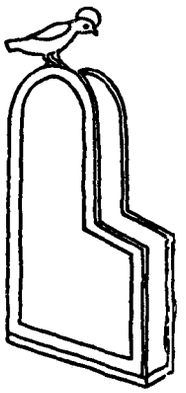
The fifth reason Nixon will lose in 1972 is the growing participation of voters in elections. In every primary so far, record turnouts have occurred. And the young people are out—not

(Continued on page 223)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CATHOLIC CHARISMATICS

KILIAN McDONNELL



The rediscovery of a hunger for God and the sense of his presence

Not long before he died Thomas Merton suggested that Pentecostalism "sums up the spirituality most likely to work in this country just now. It answers the need for concrete experience in our life of prayer. It therefore appeals to the young (and not only the young) and yet it retains enough structure to make it workable." Merton, who would play the role of prophet only reluctantly, would have been surprised how well the spirituality is working and how rapidly the movement is growing. There are no reliable statistics for the number of Roman Catholic charismatics, as they prefer to be called, but the attendance at the national conventions held at Notre Dame gives some indication of the movement's size.

Since 1968, the national conventions have tripled in size each year. In 1968 there were 100 in attendance, and in the subsequent two years the numbers grew from 500 to 1,300. In June of 1971 there were over 5,000 present and a conservative estimate of attendance at the coming June meeting is placed at 8,000-10,000. It would be difficult to find a parallel for a movement which is not yet six-years-old drawing such a large national and even international representation. At the beginning of January each year there is a national leaders' meeting in Ann Arbor, where one of the major problems is keeping people away. This January the problem was solved in part by making the meeting invitational. Why is the movement growing so fast in the Roman church?

To a large extent the movement has to do with hunger for God. In 1966, the very year that the movement began, Charles Davis wrote that he perceived "a sense of emptiness" in people, together with "a deep yearning for God." He stated that there are many scholars who will speak about the changes in the church, the new theology and the social dimensions of Christian existence and went on to ask, "but who will speak to them quite simply of God as of a person he intimately knows, and make the reality and presence of God come alive for them once more?"

The charismatic movement has to do with the rediscovery of this hunger for God and the sense of his presence. There is hardly a more precise descriptive word for the movement than "presence." The movement has been able to elicit the hunger because it has been able to show that God is not only present but he is effectively present and real in that place where we are real. Many experience the reality and the presence of God for the first time, not as an abstract essence, but as He who lives.

Catholic charismatics know quite well that the whole experience orientation of the movement has its particular pitfalls. If there can be a tyranny of abstract dogmas there can also be a tyranny of concrete religious experience. Given this caveat, one of the attractions of this spirituality, as Merton noted, is its experience orientation. To know him not by theological apprehension or doctrinal formulations but to know him by experience—however strange this is to Catholic ears, it is quite biblical. In both the Old and New Testaments the word for knowledge is not linked with any specific organ, but rather means coming to know in a concrete historical process, or more precisely, coming to know through experience. In the biblical framework, all knowledge was acquired experientially and the knowledge one could have of God did not escape this law. To know God was to experience him. And to experience him was to respond in praise.

FATHER KILIAN MCDONNELL, O.S.B., *is Executive Director of the Institute for Ecumenical and Cultural Research at Collegeville, Minnesota.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This accounts in the charismatic movement for the predominance of the prayer of praise. The centrality of prayer and the ability of the movement to open up new modes and depths of prayer meets the needs of those who experience the hunger for God. The hunger for God is directed in a specific way to Jesus so that the prayer dimensions of the movement are responses to the personal confrontation with his Lordship. Without the centrality of prayer, especially the prayer of praise, the movement would not have such extensive appeal.

Though some charismatics would object, the charismatic approach is essentially a spirituality. A true spirituality must embrace the whole of the Christian mystery, though it gives focus to certain aspects. The focus of the charismatic spirituality could be described as "fullness of life in the Holy Spirit, the exercise of the gifts of the Spirit, both of which are directed toward the proclamation that Jesus is Lord to the glory of the Father." In theological terms that is what the charismatic movement is all about.

In the movement the commitment act by which one associates oneself with the movement is called the baptism in the Holy Spirit, an experience very difficult to explain to others precisely because it is an experience. An outsider such as myself would judge that certain Christians, because they have opened themselves up to the work of the Holy Spirit in a special way, experience his operation in their lives in a new modality. The Spirit who has already been present since baptism now, because of a new openness, becomes operative at a new depth, living within and reigning within. Many are drawn to the interiority which this "walk in the Spirit" implies.

Though the baptism in the Holy Spirit plays a central role as the commitment act, there is a tendency in the movement to move away from a concern for the baptism as a specific moment. Stephen Clark has suggested that from the way some charismatics talk, a person might get the idea that "God is mainly concerned about who has once had this experience and who has not. Those who have had it are the sheep, and those who have not are the goats." There are warnings that the baptism in the Holy Spirit is not an end in itself, an isolated experience. What is important is not whether or not one has had "it" but whether one is "living and walking in the Spirit." The on-going relationship is what is important, not an isolated experience. Rather than seeing the baptism in the Holy Spirit as the moment when one gets something, the tendency now is to see it as a manner of entering into a new relationship with the Holy Spirit so that one can hear the Gospel with a new sensitivity and orient one's life more clearly toward Christ. The emphasis is, then, less on the Spirit alone and more on the basic Christian message and conversion to Christ.

There is a realization that this opening up to the Spirit, or the saying yes to what was done to one at infant baptism, can be a kind of crisis moment, that is a particular day in one's personal history from which one can date the reorientation of one's life toward the Lordship of Christ and the life in the Spirit. But the yes can also be a growth process, without dramatic peaks, whereby over a long period of time one says an unconditional yes in thousands of ways to what happened at baptism. No matter how "baptism in the Holy Spirit" is explained, the new commitment to Jesus as Lord and the invitation to walk in the power of the Spirit draws people to the movement.

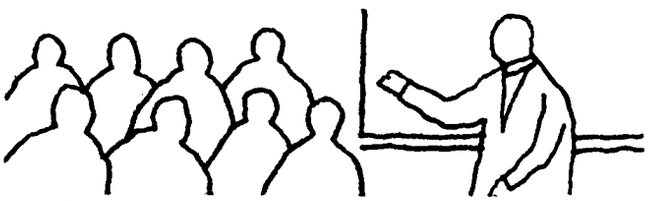
Stephen Clark has noted that the Ann Arbor community which numbers about 400 (and has doubled in size each year for the last two years) has become both less Pentecostal and more Pentecostal. Early in its history the members were refered to as "Pentecostal" and the community was one of the places people could go to find out about tongues, prophecy and the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Today these are still common elements in the life of the community but it appears that the community is more concerned with the ongoing process of living in the Spirit. The spiritual orientation is more pronouncedly Trinitarian, they discuss tongues, prophecy and baptism in the Holy Spirit less, they refer to themselves more frequently as Christians rather than Pentecostals or charismatics. There is therefore an integration process going on in which the charismatic dimension is more forcefully and consistently present but also better incorporated into the total Christian life. And there are new warnings against aggressive witnessing to friends: "The first thing to do is love them more than you did before, and serve them. The change in you will be a witness to Christ." This maturing process has given stability to the movement and places it less on the theological fringe and more at the theological center, which contributes to its growth.

In terms of visibility the most common expression of the Catholic charismatic movement is the prayer meeting. Those who wish to embrace this charismatic spirituality gather once a week for an evening of prayer. These groups are quite varied in their structure. There are those who belong to loose fellowships. These maintain contact through dropping in at various prayer meetings and days of renewal but do not belong to any particular group. Closer relationships obtain in prayer groups which have a certain number of persons who attend the weekly sessions regularly and give continuity and personality to the group. There are also large parent prayer groups of 400-500 people not bound by any covenant bond who meet together not only as a total community but form smaller sub-units of 30-40, meeting in homes without losing their relationship to the parent group. Finally there are the covenant communities such as one finds at Notre Dame and Ann Arbor. Here there is some kind of commitment to the community short of a vow by which they bind themselves not only to pray together but to live together according to different patterns. It may mean living

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the same household or apartment, or living in houses near to each other so that they might possibly have meals together and associate with one another in prayer, study and ministry.

A major strength of the Catholic movement is this sense of community and the manner in which community has found flexible structures. No comparable development is found in the charismatic movement within the historic Protestant churches. Ralph Martin says that the charismatic concern for community is not an expression of togetherness but a manifestation of the body of Jesus by those who wish to walk in the Spirit, having repented of their sins and proclaimed that Jesus is Lord. Those who wish to become associated with the movement are asked to make a commitment not only to the charismatic community. The emphasis is not on individual persons' receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit but growth and life in a community of people who are living the life of the Spirit. This helps avoid the dangers of individualistic piety and supplies the support without which many do not persevere. There is the deep conviction in the Catholic movement that more is needed than to lead people to some kind of charismatic experience



and then leave them floating. If the intent is growth in the Spirit rather than to have an isolated experience then, says Ralph Martin, there must be some actualization of the relationship between living the fullness of life in the Holy Spirit and living a life in community. In a period in which sacred places and persons have been desacralized and inter-personal relationships sacralized, the charismatic sense of community meets real needs.

The charismatics' emphasis on primary evangelization helps account for its unusual growth. Primary evangelization is that religious process by which one initially orients others toward the Lordship of Jesus and brings them over the threshold into the kingdom. Catholic charismatics frequently cite the failure of the renewal which was supposed to result from Vatican II. James Byrne, Ralph Martin and others say that this renewal failed because it presupposed that the kerygma, the basic Christian message, had been effectively and adequately appropriated by the faithful. These men seriously question whether many Christians have ever really understood and accepted the first principles of the Christian message together with its demands in terms of living under the Lordship of Jesus and walking in the Spirit.

When Byrne and Martin engage in primary evangelization the message is presented in a direct, personal way. God is not someone we know only in the abstract, but someone with whom we get in contact, who loves us and wants to establish a personal relationship with us and lead us to a better life. There is something wrong with man and society which man cannot solve alone, and therefore God sent his Son to break the demonic in us and the world and to give a new life to those who repent. To accept Jesus as the new resurrection life is to proclaim his Lordship. No man can proclaim Jesus is Lord except by the power of the Spirit. To receive the Spirit in openness is to be a new person. No one can receive the fullness of the Spirit and live in that fullness and remain unchanged. To walk in the Spirit is to grow in Christ.

The primary catechesis is markedly cristocentric and is not an overblown doctrine of the Holy Spirit. James Byrne says that "if you want to hear God's word, you must listen to Jesus. If you want to see God you must behold Jesus. If you want to know God, you must meet him through Jesus." It is an attempt to lead people to Christ in an effective way. The question the charismatics are asking is not whether Catholics have had a conversion experience but whether they have been converted to Christ.

The national leadership is convinced that you cannot suppose that Christians have appropriated this basic message. One national leader said that one "cannot assume young people, even seminarians, have the basic faith. I know seminarians who do not accept the Lordship of Christ. How can such people be candidates for the priesthood?" However, the post-Vatican renewal did assume that the basic message had been heard and appropriated and the only thing left was to work from that base to liturgical reform, restructuring of ecclesiastical institutions, social involvement and political awareness. This, the Catholic charismatics are saying, is to work from a base which is not there. Further, the whole parish system and those trained to serve in it take it for granted they are serving those who have already heard and appropriated the Christian message. But when the primary message was never effectively preached and never personally appropriated, then both the parish system and the priests and sisters who were trained to work within its context will obviously be out of joint.

All of this sounds hopelessly sectarian, revivalistic and slightly anti-sacramental. But the Catholic charismatics are not the only ones who have spoken in these terms. Bishop Patrick F. Flores of San Antonio has suggested that the church's problems will not be solved simply by getting people to frequent the sacraments if they have never been effectively evangelized, if they have not accepted in a personal way the basic message. Neither the charismatics nor Bishop Flores are attempting to replace sacramental life with a Catholic version of the 19th century Methodist camp meeting piety. Rather they are saying what the "Constitution on the Liturgy" (art. 9) said: "The sacred liturgy does not exhaust the entire activity of the Church." Though Catholic charismatics need to relate their primary evangelization to the broad liturgical

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

framework, the movement as a whole is in no sense anti-sacramental. Rather their goal is to personalize already existing formal relations to Christ, sacramental and otherwise, by eliciting a primary commitment to his Lordship and to life in the Spirit through a process of primary evangelization.

It is at this point that many hear faint echoes of elitism. Are Catholic charismatics suffering from what Muriel Spark calls "chronic righteousness"? Do they speak from a great spiritual height to the unregenerated multitudes below? Undoubtedly such persons exist within the movement but they do not characterize it. Would Bishop Flores also be suffering from chronic righteousness? Further, the charismatics are not saying that Catholics in general have never effectively appropriated the basic Christian message. Rather they are saying this cannot be assumed even though it may later be shown to have taken place. Indeed from the programs at the national leaders' conference in Ann Arbor and the national convention at Notre Dame it is evident they are built on the supposition that many in the charismatic movement have not heard the basic kerygma effectively presented. The charismatics are attempting to go back and lay a solid doctrinal foundation even for themselves in terms of a primary teaching: the meaning of salvation, sin, Christ as Lord, the kingdom of Christ, the demonic, walking in the Spirit, prayer, the Eucharist as community celebration of the resurrection, the church as the Body, community, service to others. These areas are expounded not as in a class of systematic theology, but as proclamation which elicits faith and commitment.

Where this emphasis on primary evangelization and a strong biblical-theological basis is lacking, there is a short burst of enthusiasm but no permanent growth. A number of instruments of teaching have developed, from short talks for the curious, to seven-week introductory courses called "Life in the Spirit Seminars" for the more initiated, to twelve-week "Growth Seminars" for those already committed to the movement but in need of further teaching. These too are not purely a theological exposition, but a biblical proclamation in simple, personal, direct language, often done by a layman or woman for other lay people. And like the New Testament proclamation it is also an invitation to say "Jesus is Lord to the glory of the Father." In the large prayer groups and communities there are usually the personnel resources but in many of the smaller groups there are real problems finding teachers. Also in the small groups the programs of instruction are less ambitious.

That the most characteristic form of the Catholic movement is a prayer group or a covenant community is both a help and a hindrance. It helps because it gives a minimal structure within which the movement can grow and it provides mutual support. It hinders because the church as it now obtains is parish-oriented. As long as the charismatic groups are groups distinct from the parish, the movement cannot effect its goal which is to renew the whole church charismatically. Charismatics look at the parish with the same kind of ambivalent feelings as do others concerned with the renewal of the church. Many parishes simply need to die, while others can be real vehicles of renewal. Whether or not the parish is the ideal structure of the future, that is where the people are now, and that is where the charismatics meet the communities which need renewal. Unmistakably their aim is not simply to sanctify individuals but to transform communities. Therefore until the movement relates to the parish in other ways than through prayer groups the ideal of renewing the church charismatically will be an illusion.

There is nothing modest about the goal of the charismatic movement. Bert Ghezzi, George Martin and Kevin Ranaghan have all spoken about the end of the charismatic movement as being comparable to the end of the liturgical movement. Ghezzi wrote: "The Pentecostal movement can cease to exist when everyone in the church is experiencing a full life in the Spirit. . . . The universal church has appropriated the renewal of liturgy which only a decade ago was the concern of a minority of enthusiasts. The liturgical movement no longer exists as a separate movement within the church, because the church has undergone a liturgical renewal." The goal of the charismatic movement is not to import the movement into the church where it will be tolerated. Rather its end is a church which is renewed charismatically and no longer needs a separate movement.

One might rightly have reservations about certain aspects of the movement but from a theological perspective it would be difficult to fault a movement which defines itself and what it desires for the church as "fullness of life in the Holy Spirit, the exercise of the gifts of the Spirit, directed toward the proclamation that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of the Father." This is a quite Trinitarian theology and one would be hard put to exclude any of these dimensions from a viable ecclesiology.

The attitude of the bishops has greatly helped its growth. The first reaction of the bishops was astonishment and skepticism. By November 1969 there was enough positive evidence for the American bishops to give out a cautious but essentially positive evaluation of the movement, the first such to come from any American non-Pentecostal denomination. Two Presbyterian churches have since issued more extensive evaluations, also essentially positive. Today the general attitude of the bishops seems to be even more positive. The September issue of *New Covenant*, a monthly magazine published at Ann Arbor for the Catholic movement, printed positive evaluations by three North American bishops. Bishop Joseph McKinney, the auxiliary of Grand Rapids, is personally involved in the movement. A study group on the spirituality of priests sponsored by the American bishops has among its membership priests from the charismatic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movement: Frank McNutt and Daniel Danielson. Bishop Arthur J. O'Neill, of Rockford, Ill., has allowed Father William McMahon to give up his parish and form a floating parish of a charismatic character. Written into the charter of the parish will be the stipulation that it will not own property.

An attempt has been made to indicate the reasons for its growth and ostensibly it grows because it has strengths. There are also weaknesses. Both the meetings at Ann Arbor and Notre Dame have seminars on the relation of the charismatic movement to social and political involvement. When at the 1971 national convention Father Harold Cohen asked for charismatic participation in the Catholic Interracial Conference to be held in New Orleans, his remarks drew loud applause. However, this aspect of the movement is not well thought-out and implemented.

Further, there is a kind of incipient dualism in some of the charismatic utterances. One can find isolated instances in which charismatics have sought rebaptism. Though there is general agreement among Catholics that it is not necessary to speak in tongues in order to be living the fullness of the life in the Spirit, some who hold such a doctrine teach that if you have not spoken in tongues you have not quite made it. Father Edward O'Connor has spoken out forcibly, as he always does, against this view. The borrowing from classical Pentecostalism (typified by the old-time Pentecostal churches) and from Protestant charismatics has been excessive and far too uncritical, sometimes in those areas where classical charismatics and those influenced by them are weakest, namely exegesis and systematic theology. Before it is too late, the Catholic charismatics have to rethink the charismatic spirituality within the broad framework of the Catholic tradition. Arnold Bittlinger, a Lutheran, and Robert Stamps, a Methodist, have urged this point.

These weaknesses are, to a greater or lesser degree, recognized by the national leadership, which is both sensitive and competent. Though priests are everywhere in evidence, though the national advisory board of the movement is about half clerical in composition, the movement is predominantly lay in orientation and in language. Many of the talks at national and regional meetings are given by laymen. At all levels laymen are exercising real pastoral functions. The clerical mind may find this alarming, and it might even seem highly clerical to say that one is impressed by the spiritual depth and pastoral skill of lay leaders. There are enough checks built into communities to serve as safeguards against unwise pastoral approaches, and most groups have some kind of priestly participation. In Catholicism, as in other branches of the movement in the other churches, the large role of the laity greatly contributes to its growth.

From the United States the movement is spreading to Mexico, Costa Rica, Peru, Brazil, New Zealand, Australia, England, and there are three prayer groups in Rome. In some places, France for instance, priests tend to be amused by reports coming from the States, as though one, after all, expects that sort of thing from Americans. Even in France there is much interest, though no sizable involvement. In most other countries, the movement is small but given the present patterns one can predict it will continue to grow. Assuredly it brings its own peculiar problems, but it could be a major force for renewal in the church.

T. ALAN BROUGHTON

WAR AGAIN

It is the war again
and we have gone to the beach
to the place where dreams slide up
the inner curl of combers
night air takes their pulse
and mornings are still cool enough
for fiddlers to be unwary
and I am too young
to know more of time
than passage of meals
the weight of naps
the bucket and shovel and search
for unbroken shells.

But it is the war again and the sea
holds evil metal in its belly
its eyes like lobster eyes
that see me as I walk the last
scud of foam and once at night
we wake to watch the sky
streaked with the bad veins of light
the drone and ack-ack of static
through waves whose breaking
is phosphorus grins advancing.

And in the morning
all the beach is oily
oil on my castle's wall
oil in the pool of sequestering
dabbled by crabs
oil on my feet and hands
this rich earthblood that sticks.

It is the war again
and I am afraid

shot down
the water burns

and how will I wash off
so much black?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BREAKING THE LAW FOR BUCKLEY, BRUTES AND BIG BUSINESS

THOMAS A. DINE

It is time for the USIA to take a hard look at itself and resurrect its soul.

America's propaganda arm, the U.S. Information Agency, is seeking special dispensation from Congress these days for the sins it has committed. Normally the focus of controversy overseas, USIA has run afoul at home, standing accused of breaking the letter and spirit of its own statutory authority. At the same time, it is requesting from Congress a record high budget of $200,249,000 to operate next year. Ironically, this resource-rich public communications agency is having difficulty communicating its case-and-cause on Capitol Hill, several of its actions being indefensible.

First of these is the recent Jim Buckley-USIA clash with Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, over whether federal law permits New Yorkers to view on commercial television a USIA-made documentary film. The law specifically states that no USIA product can be disseminated to domestic audiences. Fulbright, noting the absence of any specific Congressional approval, held the law should be obeyed. Buckley refused, producing a letter from the USIA general counsel asserting the film, *Czechoslovakia 1968*, an anti-Soviet short, could be used for educational purposes on his regular "Senator Buckley Reports" broadcast.

USIA officials know well the agency's legal boundaries. A majority, including former USIA lawyers, saw the showing of the motion picture to be a clear violation of the law. Yet the agency facilitated Buckley's use of the film, going so far as to lend the high USIA official who created the movie to appear with the Senator as well.

As the drama heightened, the agency's director, Frank Shakespeare, sent a note to the Committee's chairman, acknowledging embarrassment and taking exception to the release of the film. Shakespeare wrote, "There is . . . a question in my mind as to the propriety of the national archives' release of a USIA film to a political figure for use on a domestic TV program." Then on stage walked Richard Kleindienst, Acting Attorney General of the United States. From his lines, it seems he missed the previous scene, not knowing that USIA had had second thoughts about releasing the anti-Soviet documentary to Buckley.

In response to Fulbright's request to the Justice Department to enforce the law by restraining "forthwith" the showing of the agency movie on Buckley's broadcast, Kleindienst ruled that the Senator's show could go on, interpreting that the "apparent purpose" of the law "was to make USIA materials available to the American public, through the press and members of Congress." This distortion of Congress' intent regarding the domestic distribution of USIA materials read a new meaning into a strictly construed statute to fit friend Buckley.

When siring USIA, Congress specified in the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 that the material compiled by the government's propaganda agency was to be disseminated only abroad, not in this country. The language speaks only of the promotion of understanding of the USA and the American people "in other countries" and, to that end, of the "establishment of an information service to disseminate abroad" information about the United States. The impetus for such strict policy guidance came from conservative Republicans like Karl Mundt of South Dakota and Idaho's Henry Dworshak. The matter popped up again in 1965 when there was strong public interest to see USIA's film on John Kennedy; Congress passed a special joint resolution to permit the agency to release it. In its report to the full Senate, the Committee on Foreign Relations made clear how exceptional the JFK film resolution was. "The Resolution," the report read, "is to be limited solely to the film referred to herein and that nothing contained in the Joint Resolution should be construed to establish a precedent for making other material prepared by USIA available for general distribution in the United States." The government, then, is clearly barred from operating its own information apparatus within the U.S., for fear of encouraging propaganda ministries on the model of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

How could an Administration so conscious of the law-and-order issue miss this law's message? Amidst several Republican scandals already, why did Administration executives become entangled in another controversy? Why clash with Fulbright at a time when USIA's budget is before the Committee? No convincing justifications have come from the personalities involved, but observers close to the scene have offered astute suggestions. In seeing the right side of the political spectrum "playing flagrant politics," several legislators have labeled the episode "premeditated law-breaking," with Shakespeare

THOMAS A. DINE *has served in government posts in the Philippines, India and Washington, D.C.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thumbing his nose at Fulbright to the delight and encouragement of the White House. One senior solon goes so far as to link conservatives Shakespeare, Buckley and Kleindienst, believing this anti-Communist troika purposely evaded what had been enacted—for the sake of their own cold war ideology. This same Senator caustically commented off the Senate floor after Kleindienst's letter had arrived, "I guess people like Jim Buckley and those who share his back-ass view of the world don't think laws were meant to apply to their kind."

When a press release was called to the attention of the Committee on Foreign Relations that two USIA films are to be shown at a National Archives film festival in the capital soon, Senator Frank Church placed on USIA's bill a blanket prohibition against the internal distribution of any and all USIA-produced materials, unless the domestic release of the material is specifically authorized by law, as in the case of the Kennedy film.

"Friends" Overseas

Second of its remarkable activities which anger many in Congress is USIA's proclivity to engage in propaganda activities on behalf of foreign governments. In promoting anti-Communist regimes, usually brutish ones, the agency has assumed authority not conferred on it by Congress.

Smith-Mundt specifies the operating objectives of our overseas information programs are "to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." Nowhere is there statutory authority, direct or indirect, for any government agency to promote a greater acceptance of America's client regimes. Yet, in recent years, USIA has overstepped its mandate to keep in step in our worldwide imperial parade. Time after time, American horns have trumpeted away, promoting and preserving heralded "patriots of the free world" to the people they supposedly represent. Beyond places like Saigon, Vientiane, Phnom Penh, and Bangkok, USIA has propagandized for brutes in Addis Abba, Athens, Brasilia, and other despotic capitals. For instance, take the case of USIA and President Nguyen Van Thieu. At a 1970 Committee on Foreign Relations public hearing, it was revealed that USIA had been involved in a massive campaign for the Thieu government. Exhaustive evidence showed that USIA was using every tool of the communications arts to make Thieu palatable to his own compatriots and to insure his reelection in 1971. Through television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and leaflets by tens of millions, USIA was teamed up with military psychological warfare specialists to inflict on the people of Vietnam the kind of official propaganda system we have refused to allow in our own country, that is until the new conservatives began breaking the law. In response, Senator Church introduced a bill to prohibit such activity. He said in the Senate that such efforts were a travesty on self-determination, "the ultimate corruption in a war which has for years now eroded the moral sensibilities of our nation." And he added, "The use of our taxpayers' millions to package and sell the Thieu government, like a bar of soap to its people, is the ultimate hypocrisy."

Last year, Congress was unable to stop USIA's campaigns designed to increase understanding between foreign governments and their own peoples. But as more information is collected, more legislators are becoming aware of the illegalities involved, as well as bad foreign policy, in promoting particular potentates who fit into our scheme of the status quo. At this year's budget hearing, it was shown that USIA-prepared informational materials were attributed to the governments of Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. Under pressure, Shakespeare said the agency now has a policy "that we will not lend support to the internal and external informational activities of host country governments." In Latin America, it was found that the agency distributed general propaganda materials without any attribution, as in the case of the comic book "El Desengano" ("The Disillusionment"). This slick booklet deals with urban terrorism, and has been distributed, USIA now admits, throughout the southern hemisphere.

Because USIA had classified its unattributed materials "confidential," Fulbright bluntly asked Shakespeare whether the information agency was conducting "an open, above-board operation" or "a propaganda program that it wants to keep secret." It is important to remember, the chairman reminded the director, covert propaganda practices do not conform to U.S. law. The Arkansas Senator also pointed out that under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, it is illegal for foreign agents in this country to distribute information without identifyng it as the product of another government. That afternoon, Shakespeare declassified a lengthy memorandum listing all cases in which USIA had produced or assisted in the production of materials that had been distributed without attribution to USIA. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff is now looking for further illegal activities of this kind. Too, the Committee members are trying to redirect USIA away from its misguided anti-Communist projects. It has become true about the agency what was said of Rip Van Winkle, "He was so busy taking care of everyone else's business, he seldom found time to take care of his own."

Big Business

Third of USIA's dubious activities is its promotion of American big business investments overseas, a violation of the spirit of the law at least. The agency's close collusion with our multinational corporations provides plenty of ammunition for every nationalist who believes that Yankee capitalism controls the U.S. government for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

purpose of exploiting his particular country; such a closeness risks the agency's tenure in a number of countries.

The agency acknowledged at last month's hearings that it prepared, for instance, 15,000 pamphlets for private U.S. companies that dealt with "the contribution of foreign private investment in the petroleum sector of the host country." These materials were attributed to the firms themselves. Cited was an investment brochure for the Texaco-Gulf Oil combine in Ecuador. Also mentioned is a 48-part television series on "Private Investment and Public Profit" for showing on national TV in Colombia.

The 1971 Annual Report of the Council of the Americas, "spokesman for U.S. business concerned with Latin America," sums up the relationship USIA has with big business. "The traditionally fine cooperation of USIA with the Council continued during 1971." The report goes on, "Ideas were provided for USIA films on private enterprise and foreign investment; a USIA survey of companies for program suggestions was assisted; special briefings were provided to USIA officers; and the Council participated in the USIA-assisted Media Three Americas project of the University of Texas." In general, the report boasts of the "input of Council thinking into official deliberations" this past year. With people such as Jose de Cubas of Westinghouse Electric as Council president and chairman, David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan Bank as honorary chairman, and Enno Hobbing of ITT-CIA-Chile fame as Council vice president, there is little doubt of the Council's closeness with the Administration. And American capitalism appears to be pleased by the advertising the agency provides abroad. This association caused one Senator to quip, "This whole scene is a beautiful example of the money tail wagging the foreign policy dog." Just as important, the agency's activities for big business are deceptive and only serve to undermine the basic tenets of the 1948 Act.

If an official agency of the U.S. government makes a "scarecrow of the law," as William Shakespeare put it, for a particular person, ideology, crusade, or special interest group, how can the national interest be served? It obviously cannot, nor can USIA benefit. It is time for USIA to take a hard look at itself, resurrect its soul, and "set the record straight" for itself. Frank Shakespeare should resign; Congress should cut the agency's budget at least 25 percent; illegal programs need to be admitted and stopped altogether; other programs need realtering. Congress should seriously consider abolishing the agency and forming in its place an information-education program modeled after the British Council. Above all, USIA should start obeying the letter and the spirit of its legal mandate. Otherwise, the agency is digging its own grave. For, as Byron proclaimed, "He who holds no laws in awe, he must perish by the law." Special dispensation is out of the question.

AT MONK'S PLACE

THE STAGE

Tennessee Williams' *Confessional* opens in mid-sentence—Leona Dawson in full cry. When Williams revised the play, turned it into *Small Craft Warnings,* which recently opened off-Broadway, he provided a gentler opening, a more conventional introduction to the setting and the characters. It was a tactical error, for Leona is the strongest, the best thing about the new play. She is in the other, the nonBlanche line of Williams heroines, those descendants of the hotel owner celebrated in the early story, "The Mattress by the Tomato Patch." Like Maxine in *The Night of the Iguana* and Flora Goforth in *The Milk Train Doesn't Stop Here Anymore,* Leona turns a tough face to the world, a manner that masks her interior softness. *Softness* in the sense of receptivity, even vulnerability, not sponginess, weakness. Of all the characters who frequent Monk's Place, she is the only one who has faced the losses, the loneliness inevitable in Williams' world and gone on to embrace life. The vigor of her language—even the abuse she pours on her friends—and the physical force with which she prowls the bar are reflections of the healthy hardness in her. Helena Carroll could never be as gross as Leona sometimes sounds on the page, but she catches the mercurial quality of the woman, the sudden transitions from cynicism to sentimentality, from anger to affection, from practicality to pure fantasy, from cheerful assurance to pain. More than that, she conveys the child in the woman, the unbeatable sense of expectation which sets Leona apart. Helena Carroll and the character she plays give *Small Craft Warnings* whatever dramatic vitality it has.

For the rest, the play is quiet, ruminative, often boring. Although Williams puts Leona at the center of things, makes her "mean drunk" on the anniversary of her brother's death the occasion both for the play and for her break with the crowd at Monk's Place, her temporary home and family, he is interested in the group as group and as a collection of individuals. They are presented not simply in their conversations and their encounters with Leona, but in set speeches, philosophical and biographical, which they deliver directly to the audience, from the spot light that, for the length of the speech, sets them apart from the rest of the stage and stops all action around them; this is the "confessional" of the original title. As one character explains, they are the "small craft" in the momentarily safe harbor of the bar setting. Monk's Place . . . cloister . . . refuge . . . Williams has always loved significant names.

Whatever dramatic tension the play manages grows out of the implicit conflict between Leona and the rest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the characters. Although she is in and of this world —after all, from Williams' point of view, it is the human condition—she is active where they are passive; most of the time on stage, they sit while she moves around them. Williams does provide her with one ally, the teen-age boy still capable of surprise, but his confession is one of the least effective speeches in the play. Completely revised from the original, it attempts to tie him to the casual bisexuality which is presumably part of the youth counterculture. As he was originally conceived, however—the homosexual, newly come out—he was an old-fashioned character, the innocent spoiled, for he was initiated not simply into sexual experience but into a false coolness ("next time I won't make the mistake of showing any excitement and pleasure"). For the sake of Leona and the play, he probably should have been left in that role, for in *Small Craft* he is less supportive than diversionary, cloying the double-edged quality of Leona's power of survival.

Anyone who knows Williams' work knows that he returns again and again to the same characters, themes, phrases. It is not surprising, then, that the regulars at Monk's should turn out to be refugees not simply from the world outside, but from other Williams plays. Bill is the professional stud, an inelegant brother to Chance Wayne in *Sweet Bird of Youth*. Violet is the Blanche-Alma-Hannah Jelkes heroine, the queen of the "temporary arrangement," reduced here almost to imbecility, to parody. Quentin, who writes porno films, is the mock-artist, the sensualist, most effectively drawn in the off-stage Sebastian of *Suddenly Last Summer*. Leona's dead brother, the beautiful, sensitive, violin-playing homosexual, recalls Blanche's dead husband in *Streetcar*. The static quality of most of the play, the presentational style, simply underlines Williams' reliance on material that we have seen often before and usually embedded in more flamboyant theater. The difficulty, this time, is that the reverberations are not replenishing. I hear Quentin speak of the "kingdom of earth" and I make a mental checkmark: oh, yes, the published title of *The Seven Descents of Myrtle*. I do that, I suppose, because Quentin is simply an illustration—Exhibit A—and not a character who is allowed to do or be enough to give his confession dramatic force. Oh, the long speeches (which look a little silly on the page) work very well in the theater. Williams still writes remarkable verbal passages, carefully designed speeches which let the actor move, by means of recurring words and phrases, from image to image, from argument to argument, and which allow the voice to take on a kind of generalized stage sadness.

The clichés in *Small Craft* come not only from Williams. The doctor who has lost his license, who will inevitably give the life-and-death speech, is a favorite of the 1930s and 1940s, the drunken professional who still carries wisdom in his shaky hands (see Harry

What kind of guy becomes a priest?

Leaders Wanted!!
Can you accept the challenge?

If you are a mature adult, deeply concerned and stimulated by the problems and promise facing the Church, consider

HOLY APOSTLES SEMINARY COLLEGE

Holy Apostles maintains a unique, dynamic atmosphere oriented to the adult candidate.

We are ready to provide you with the equipment and opportunity for real leadership in the Church in these exciting times.

A program that will benefit those who are considering other types of leadership, especially in the fields of religious education and parish co-ordination, is also available.

Holy Apostles is an accredited college offering a Bachelor of Arts degree in:

- English
- Philosophy
- Religious Studies

The curriculum includes:

- Two years liberal arts
- Two years in your chosen major

Courses are planned to meet the specific needs, background and goals of each student. Earliest age for admission: twenty years. Special programs for adult laymen. Approved for veterans.

Write to:

Director of Admissions
Holy Apostles Seminary College
Cromwell, Connecticut 06416

ADULT CANDIDATES FOR THE PRIESTHOOD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brock's lawyer in *Born Yesterday* or any number of ships' doctors in the movies, most of them played by Thomas Mitchell). Monk, at least until the last scene, might be Nick in *The Time of Your Life*. In fact, Williams' bar kept reminding me of Saroyan's not simply because I had seen the Saroyan play earlier this year but because Leona's lines ("I've always said 'Life!' to life . . .") suggest the epigraph to the earlier play, "In the time of your life, live . . ."

None of this would matter, of course, if *Small Craft Warnings* were strong enough to shout down the echoes. It only succeeds in doing that when Leona, when Helena Carroll, is center stage.

GERALD WEALES

an exchange of views

Student Activism: Myth or Fact?

Urbana, Ill.

To the Editors: David Warren's article on the present state of student politics [Mar. 3] gives me the impression that it must have been written in the eerie atmosphere of never-never land, but certainly not in the ambiguous, confusing and contradictory world that students actually inhabit. Having just graduated from the law school of a large midwestern university where I am now participating in a group law practice among college students, I must say that Mr. Warren's reading of the situation strikes me as wholly unrealistic.

What is or who is "the movement"? Mr. Warren's repeated and uncritical use of that phrase reinforces the myth that students are a large, homogeneous mass without recognizing that students, like everyone else, have many different opinions about issues and that the range of opinion on a given issue among college students may vary greatly.

But worse, he seems to ignore altogether the question of whether student politics in the sixties and seventies actually deserve the honor of being denominated "movements." To me a movement is a systematic, dedicated, everyday involvement in the nitty-gritty lives of the people it serves. It survives by addressing itself to concrete needs of those people. A movement is the kind of thing Martin Luther King was doing or what Cesar Chavez and Jesse Jackson are doing now. One can ask whether most student politics were much more than sporadic, easily discouraged efforts to bring about changes of questionable value.

Mr. Warren, in a word, is romantic about students. He writes, "During the last decade, the Movement has looked to student activists for its theory, tactics and primary pool of manpower." That's what a lot of people thought until something called Black Power came along.

If students are to play a vital, creative role in political life, they must recognize that there is nothing unique

'A State of Quiet Calamity'

about what they are doing, that student politics are as vulnerable to corruption as any other brand of politics, and that the greatest threat to a student political movement is not oppression, but a lack of humility and realism.

KENT HULL

St. Louis, Mo.

To the Editors: I really hate to break it to David Warren, the Yale cleric who says the "eerie tranquility" on the campus is a misreading of a volatile student body waiting to be drawn again out of the libraries and into the streets [Mar. 3]. The truth of the matter is that on most campuses, for most students, things always were tranquil.

On my campus, 1000 students demonstrated after Cambodia and Kent State. Dramatic? To be sure. But 9000 were not demonstrating. They were, whether one likes it or not, pursuing their "career," studying in the library, off drinking in the park, working at their gas station job, or what have you. Just like they always have. Just like they always will, Rev. Warren's counter-culture notwithstanding.

Rev. Warren's emphasis on the small number of persons in the "movement" as the key to social and economic progress is a strange interpretation of politics (organized labor does more in one week for more persons than the counter-culture movement has done since its inception). It is amusing to learn the counter-culture is now finding out that most institutional problems have their sources in human failing (such as the bickering among founders of a "free school," analogous to a hotly contested school board election in suburbia). Indeed, the counter-culture, far from being synonymous with students, is merely the contemporary version of the ever-present, but numerically small, group of "bohemian" students who see themselves as the wave of the future. Their impact on the real world (except for the superficialities of personal appearance) extends little further than an occasional source of amusement or a brief item of titillation for the six o'clock news.

Campus revolution quiescent? Wrong. It never really existed, save for a few heady days after Cambodia, protests by black students (really part of the civil rights movement), or in a few elite

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

universities which receive an abnormal amount of attention from those who attempt to describe the lives of over seven million American college students.

DEMPSTER K. HOLLAND
Center for Urban Programs
Saint Louis University

Reply

Several of the questions raised by Mr. Hull and Mr. Holland deserve careful clarification as well as rebuttal.

First, I find Mr. Hull's definition of "*the movement*" (. . . a systematic, dedicated everyday involvement in the nitty-gritty lives of the people it serves) as inadequate, politically naive, and certainly not descriptive of the great majority of movement people in this country. What I suspect he has given us is a projection of his own personal involvement, which he assumes we will accept as normative. Sadly, his definition excludes that sector of the American populace which *merely* does volunteer work for a McGovern or Chisholm, or resists the erosion of civil liberties or the nomination of a Rehnquist or Kleindienst, or opposes chronic unemployment or over-population, or supports Ralph Nader, and in the process seek to regain power over the decision-making processes of their lives.

Mr. Hull has provided us a description of the movement's most dedicated hard-core who provide continuity and perseverance, and without whom the movement would surely collapse. However, to limit membership in the movement to only that handful smacks a bit of political works-righteousness. Further, it fails to recognize the reality that the efforts of King, Chavez and Jackson were and are financed and protected by a phalanx of liberals (student, suburban and labor) who feel an abiding commitment to these organizations and their struggles. Membership in the movement has always been by self-election. However, sectarian groups have frequently emerged to arrogate to themselves the power of political baptism. They have always failed precisely because *only* the individual can know the level of his or her commitment to that more humane, egalitarian and democratic world which the movement seeks.

Let me draw to Mr. Hull's attention the almost universal judgment made in regard to the student impact on the civil rights movement. "The Southern college student shook the power structure of the Negro community, made direct-action temporarily pre-eminent as a civil rights tactic, speeded up the process of social change in race relations and ultimately turned the Negro protest organizations toward a deep concern for the economic and social problems of the masses." (Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.) With the rise of Black Power in 1966 white students wisely heeded the words of Stokely Carmichael and shifted their attention to Northern white institutions and their policies of racism, violence and exploitation.

Secondly, a reply to Mr. Holland is in order. Mr. Holland claims, "that the truth of the matter is that on most campuses for most students things have always been tranquil." This is a pleasant illusion he offers, but an illusion nonetheless. In two papers submitted to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Crime, the following statements were made: "Those who believe that disruption and conflict are unique to the campuses of the 1960's are unacquainted with the history of American colleges." "Dormitory life in the 19th century was marked by violence, rough and undisciplined actions and outbreaks of protest." During the 1930's there were numerous disruptions and protests regarding the Depression and the impending Second World War.

In the early 1960's students began to center their protests on civil rights, the war in Vietnam and the uses of the university by big business and the military. In 1964, of the 849 four-year colleges responding to a poll, the great majority reported some kind of protest: 33 percent had off-campus civil rights activity, 20 percent had on-campus anti-war activity and 20 percent had protests related to governance, censorship, curriculum and conduct.

In 1968 protests were experienced by 43 percent of the public universities, 70 percent of the private universities, 21 percent of the public four-year colleges and 22.4 percent of *all* institutions of Higher Education. Further, the Special Committee on campus tensions reported that, "there is widespread sympathy for the aims of the protestors, though no more than 15 percent have been active in particular incidents." This view is supported by a 1970 Harris poll that 76 per cent of the students believe that "basic change in the system will be necessary to improve the quality of life in America." That poll further indicated that 80 percent of the class of 1970 (predominately white and middle-class) revealed "that confrontation ranging from mass demonstrations to violent acts, are necessary to achieve social change."

The point I would wish to make here is that student activism has been the movement's engine for progressive change over the last 12 years. Certainly students have erred in tactics and have been broken by internal strife; no one is more aware of these failings than the students themselves. But surely Messrs. Hull and Holland do not wish to contend that the student movement has failed to enlarge the humanitarian, libertarian and humanistic options available in the university and the nation. If that would be their claim, then these two men have done a remarkable job of insulating themselves from a major force of American history in the last decade.

DAVID L. WARREN

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

JAMES SULLIVAN

EREMESIS

Robinson Crusoe
grew so lonely,
only
By building could he fulfill
His nature's need to see a city;
Pity
The man with time to kill.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

A kind of twentieth-century Paul

Courage to Change. An Introduction to the Life and Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr

JUNE BINGHAM

Scribner's, $10

Reinhold Niebuhr

RONALD H. STONE

Abingdon, $8

GEORGE N. SHUSTER

These two books are intelligent and affectionate. They differ in the method their authors use and in style. Mrs. Bingham has the great advantage of having been in the circle of Niebuhr's family and friends so long that you can almost feel the warmth of his presence and the quality of the company. To be sure she has also tried to grapple with the varied configurations of his thinking, which is not really systematic in even his greatest treatise, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*. But this she does not manage, at least in my opinion, as well as does Dr. Stone. There is no use trying to stage a popularity contest between them. Still, here are two obituaries, unfortunately, and it is probably true to say that no better ones are likely to appear. Interested persons should read both.

During 1951 I sat on the stage with Niebuhr at the conclusion of a large and rather festive UNESCO Conference held in New York City. I had virtually forgotten what he was really like because I had just come back from a two-year tour of duty for the United States Government in Germany and the pressure on me had been so great that there was no time to think about anything else. And then I listened to his address, so eloquent and passionate, so brilliant, and still, in a sense, so humble, that I said to myself that no man could pump so much energy out of himself for very long. And the stroke did follow. Fortunately, it did not write a finis to his life and work. But he could never again do that sort of thing, blending his magnificent dialectic with his sense of spiritual mission.

Then I began to recall the many things he had done or tried to do. He never spoke or wrote, however cursorily, without reading, thinking, and conferring. His theological position was difficult to define. There were perhaps two moments in his career when he seriously entered this realm of discursive inquiry, and he did so both times disclaiming that he was in any real sense a theologian. Mrs. Bingham provides a very good account of his complex relationships with Karl Barth, and Dr. Stone deals more incisively than it seems to me anybody else has with the *Christian Century* controversy between the Niebuhr brothers. Reinhold was, one thinks, a Reformation Lutheran with a very simple, strong, and concise faith. But he was, religiously speaking, no match for men like his brother or Dietrich Bonhoeffer when it came to discussing the intellectual difficulties to be encountered when one began to analyze the structure in our times of a theological position. Yet he was a pastoral theologian of such fervor and force that, however one may differ with him about some of his practical conclusions, the drive toward making Christianity or religion generally meaningful in a troubled society is simply a paradigm and one must be grateful to Mrs. Bingham for having thrown so much light on this aspect of his achievement.

He had known that ministry as a Middlewestern pastor in the ordinary sense of the term. But he carried it into the realms which were then and still are the most important. When he came to Union Theological Seminary, Columbia University, like so many others in which strong religious voices had once been stressed, had some timid ecclesiastical peeps which could still be detected, but what were they in comparison with the commanding voice of John Dewey? True enough, I have always considered Dewey's defection from Hegelianism to Determinism and Naturalism a kind of unfortunate accident. But anyway Columbia students began to trek over to the Seminary in order to find out what the new Christian prophet was like. It was really stirring and some of us watched it from afar with mingled chuckles and thanksgivings.

The other thing he did was to bend so large a segment of the mass media to his purpose. He was soon talking about any number of moral questions, never pausing to consider whether any ecclesiastical body of size was supporting him. Mrs. Bingham places all of us greatly in her debt by illustrating so much of this so well. I do not find myself in complete agreement with her analyses but this does not matter in the least. Today the duty of pastoral theology is to follow in his footsteps. To me the one-track minds of the current crop of pastoral preachers is probably as troubling as it would have been to Reinhold Niebuhr. Certainly I am quite ready to pray during each Sunday service for the boys who may die in Vietnam. But why does nobody ever light a verbal candle for the men of the Police Force who certainly die and will die daily in order to prevent meaningless murder, arson, and rape? Niebuhr would never have permitted himself to have such a simplistic attitude.

Let me intersperse a few remarks about a matter which could not be dealt with in either of these books because it lies outside the scope of their authors' experience. Robert Hutchins' Santa Barbara Center for quite some time staged debates between its consultants. Niebuhr was very often there and so was John Murray, greatest of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Catholic theologians, who went about with an invisible Ottaviani ball and chain around his intellectual leg. But even his friends never discussed this with him. He was so firm a believer in the courtesy, firmness, and good reason of the Roman church that he could wait for God's good time to come. And, of course, it did. Unfortunately, his stroke did not give him any subsequent years. Anyway, Niebuhr was bent, in Santa Barbara, on discussing the natural law morning, noon, and night. But in the end Father Murray simply said that he wasn't going to talk about it any more. I confess that I was amused by this. Niebuhr had for once run into a stone wall which would not move.

Let me close by saying that what I probably admired most in Niebuhr was his ability to grow out of one position into another. Thus one of the greatest things he ever did as a young man was, after 1918, to visit the Ruhr region with a friend. They discovered the unbelievable poverty and lack of food that prevailed there and went back to organize a relief action. In other words, there was always something eminently Christian for him to do. But if one thing didn't quite turn out right, there was always something else. I think of him as a kind of twentieth-century Paul who would have fed the pagan Greeks and Romans as well as his own Christian flock, if he could. And also my remembrance of him includes the fact that though he was probably not originally very ecumenical in spirit he prayed and wrestled with himself until he was. Immigrant Lutheran belief first entered our culture through him. And he has had a great and wonderful progeny in this respect, too, for which we can all thank God.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

REVIEWERS

GEORGE N. SHUSTER, Assistant to the President of the University of Notre Dame, was Managing Editor of *Commonweal* from 1926-1938.

FATHER JOHN P. REID, O.P., is the author of *Man Without God* (Corpus).

GEORGE MCCANDLISH, professor of English at the George Washington University, is an active member of the Society of Friends.

Robespierre the Incorruptible: A Psychobiography

MAX GALLO

Herder and Herder, $8.50

JOHN P. REID

The French Revolution was the first major political upheaval in the entire history of the Western nations to deserve the revolutionary epithet. This distinction says more about the relative inconsequence of centuries of successive and diverse political change and development than it does about the depth and seriousness of the events of 1789 and the years which followed. In desperation, partially at least, historians have examined and analyzed the Revolution in its broadest sweep and most far-reaching implications as well as in its minutest and frequently most trivial details. Burke and deMaistre, no less than Marx and Michelet, bestowed on the largely uninformed read-

THE SERPENT WAS WISER *Idea:* Is the biblical creation story still meaningful today? Richard Hanson updates information, presents new observations. $2.95 May 1

MUSTARD SEEDS AND WINESKINS *Idea:* Do the parables speak to today's world? W. A. Poovey, in his easily presented dramas, makes them come alive. Meaningful for Lent. $2.95

DRAMAS Separate volume of the above seven dramas. 95¢, $9.50 doz.

LIBERATING OUR WHITE GHETTO *Idea:* We need to release the white majority from its comfortable prison! Joseph Barndt writes about the subtle white racism structured into our society. $2.95

ECUMENOPOLIS—U.S.A. What is the church's practical role? $2.95

A CREATIVE MINORITY Promise for the future of the church. $2.50

COUNTER CULTURE AND THE VISION OF GOD Mysticism, drugs, communes . . . how should the church respond? $4.50

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL TEACHINGS Anthology relating to the church's stand on social issues. $3.95

have an idea shower

Augsburg books

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR Augsburg Publishing House • Minneapolis, Minn. 55415

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing public accounts of what happened and why, already prefabricated according to selective interpretative canons. More perhaps than any other episode in modern times, the Revolution itself, what in fact took place, its causes and consequences, has scarcely been allowed room in the pages of its chroniclers and critics. The moral is devastatingly clear, however reluctant historians have been to own it as integral to their craft. What is objectively important is, of course, of paramount interest to the observer and commentator, but it is not "what happened," it is what is most appealing, after the fact.

The principal agents in the revolutionary drama, if we are to be guided by the recognized authorities, were mostly Parisians, striking figures, individualists, tireless theoreticians, tiresome propagandists. This is ludicrous, on the face of it, almost equivalent to crediting Herb Klein and Eric Sevareid with making contemporary history. But if history is what historians decide to write about, the men of letters effectively insert themselves between the past and us and we have no choice except to weigh their evidence as carefully as may be. The name of Robespierre is practically synonymous with the French Revolution, yet he spent most of his waking hours, from the fall of the Bastille until his execution in 1794, talking—just that, talking. I have no doubt either that he excelled in interminable speechifying or that he was incapable of doing anything else. I do not like him and I cannot imagine that anyone who knew him found him likable. I will admit, in spite of these feelings, that he made history, which is to say that historians made him.

Gallo has given us what he calls a psychobiography, something far more ambitious than a slice of conventional history and immensely less reliable. Everyone knows well enough what Robespierre did, in the half-decade during which he survived the Revolution, just as everyone knows what others did to him when they could no longer tolerate his incorruptibility. Gallo approaches his subject armed with Freud and with a lack of subtlety well suited to his topic. Early on the author lays out enough data to convince the most benign skeptic that the Incorruptible-to-be suffered enormous, irreversible emotional deprivation in childhood. From this premise it is a piece of cake to penetrate Robespierre's mind and feelings in every situation, at every crucial turn, whatever the other factors involved. Gallo does his job well enough; he is orderly and thorough and from time to time casts an eye around, to note that France was troubled by more than his hero's agonizing over an unhappy consciousness. The result, inherently a dubious job, is fairly well carried off.

My doubt is pricked by the ambiguity and patent vagueness of the kind of interpretation Gallo has attempted. It may be a generic hazard attached to biography as such, but its risks are more important when the subject is so closely involved in great historic movements. Yet the biographical entry opens upon vistas and perspectives of endless fascination, and Gallo has explored every likely corner of Robespierre's character and personality. The whole adds up to a compelling portrait, of a man hopelessly limited, distorted even, by the legacy of an early life starved of affection and pride of accomplishment and by overweening ambition. Only in his last months, in the late Spring and early Summer before his death, did Robespierre's inner torments escape his rigid self-control. Under threat of deposition and assassination he mounted every available rostrum and poured forth endless vituperation in a self-justifying frenzy that masked as lofty judgment on the betrayers of the revolutionary ideal. Gallo's insights into the man's deepest sentiments and aspirations lift his narrative, finally, to lyrical heights. The end casts its mordant glow back over the five years, almost to the day, since the Paris mob stormed the royal prison. The liturgical symbols with which Gallo clothes the ultimate scenario seem oddly appropriate; one has left the public stage of mass movements and impersonal forces and focused on the altar of a man's soul. The Freudian categories need not be taken at full heuristic value; what matters is the vision of immortality, the glorious prospect of his countrymen's admiration and homage, that shimmered before the spent fanatic's inner gaze.

Gallo's is a study of this man's lifelong quest for recognition and a sense of his own worth and dignity. In the midst of turmoil and chaotic events, Robespierre's struggle with his past left him little energy with which to weigh alternatives or preserve balance and moderation. It may be, in Stendhal's words, that his soul was too ardent to content itself with the reality of life. To his adversaries, to posterity, he wanted to bequeath "the terrible truth and death." The truth that stands forth hauntingly in this man's career is the inexorability of death. The flesh is corruptible.

The Peaceable Kingdom

JAN de HARTOG

Atheneum, $10

GEORGE McCANDLISH

In *The Peaceable Kingdom*, Jan de Hartog has given us two books in one. The first is laid in the founding period of Quakerism, a period of suffering, persecution, and greatness; the second in a period, as the author shows us, of equal greatness, at that moment of history when Penn's holy experiment in the New World has succeeded beyond expectation but is now menaced from within by worldliness and the spirit of compromise and from without by the imperial rivalries of the great powers. What binds the two books together—and there is a promise of two more to come—is the ever-present miracle of love and compassion giving meaning to otherwise senseless brutality.

Here is a book of epic sweep, a book crammed with great and noble deeds of high adventure, but an epic without heroes; a saga of the gentle people called Quakers, a hymn to that of God in every man, but a book

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

filled with rapes and violence, a bestial lynching, Indian massacres and the fetid corruption and the outrage of slavery.

No heroes? Friend Boniface Baker, a hestitant, rotund little man, is middle-aged when he frees his slaves and divides among them his insular Eden, a lush semitropical plantation with its ring of warm springs set in the slow-moving waters of the Delaware, accepting for himself and for his family a life of poverty and hardship on the frontier. He did a wonderful thing, but he stayed an ordinary little man, subject to all the temptations of the flesh; and somehow this seemed to hold a greater promise for mankind than if he had become a saint.

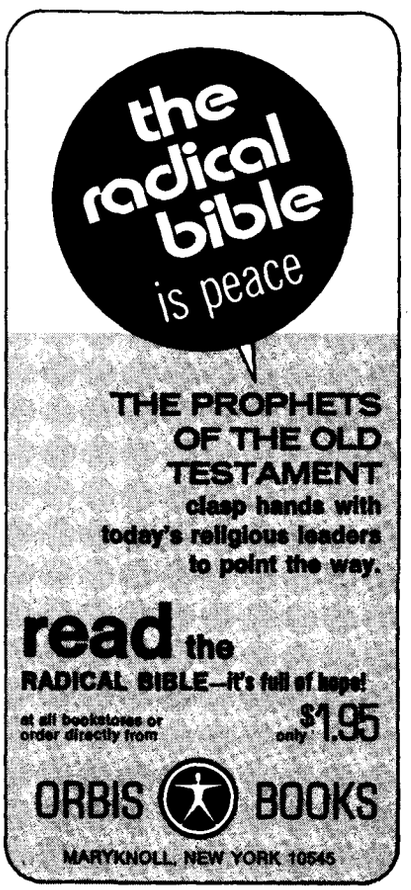
No heroes and no saints. George Fox, whom the people called Quakers consider to be "the first publisher of Truth" and the founder of the sect, appears in these pages as a young man of great virility. His masculine presence fires the enthusiasm of the women who follow him. He is a man who preaches the God within as a God of love and yet keeps a book of records of the punishments God metes out to those who oppress the Children of the Light; a man who when filled with the fierce glory of the power of God works miracles yet thrives on strife, sows dissension wherever he goes, changes men's lives and then abandons them. In short, a man who loves all mankind, yet one who, filled with the sense of God's power, is careless of how he affects others.

Nor does Margaret Fell, the mother of Quakerdom, appear more saintly. She it is who organizes the Meeting for Sufferings in her husband's home at Swarthmoor Hall, to provide a network of correspondence with all who suffer for Truth's sake; and, by doing so, she institutionalizes George Fox's holy fire and gives structure to the Quaker movement. As the wife of the chief justice, she goes down into the dungeon of Lancaster castle to share the sufferings of the oppressed and brings what practical comfort she can to the criminals and lunatics in their filthy cages; yet she remains a prisoner of her upbringing, an upper class English woman outraged by her first horrified glimpse of a reality in which children are hanged and lunatics chained in noisome dungeons by the guardians of the peace.

In a moving dedication to his wife the author speaks of the inspiration for the book. He recounts how one evening he and his wife attended a Meeting for Sufferings of Vietnamese Children in the Arch Street Meeting House in Philadelphia. Sitting there with William Penn's first treaty with the Delawares in a glass case in the next room and, underneath the floorboards, the graves of hundreds of Quakers who had died nursing the sick during a yellow fever epidemic, two hundred years ago—sitting there and listening to his wife as she read the minutes from the facing bench where she sat with two other women—he suddenly became aware not only of "the three women in the lamplight who seemed to embody that intangible movement called the Religious Society of Friends," but also, behind those three, of the vast numinous presence of all the generations of anonymous Quaker women that had gone before, whose lives had been dedicated to the same things: war orphans, abandoned children, refugee camps—all the sufferings of the helpless and the innocent."

When the kindly, worldly-wise Judge Fell, in an effort to show his impetuous capricious wife the dangers she was risking in her infatuation with Fox and her criminal support of his teachings, brings her face-to-face with the reality of Lancaster gaol, the sheltered Margaret of Swarthmoor Hall, shaken to the roots of her being, rides posthaste, in a state of shock, to consult and upbraid the mentor who had brought God, the omnipotent father, down from heaven and left Margaret alone in a brutish world with only some mysterious inner God of love to call on. Appalled at what she has seen, she asks, "Where is your God of love?" and for once George Fox does not fail her: "Stop crying for the proof of God's love. Prove it thyself . . . . In the case of those children in the cage about to be hanged, it is *thou* He touched. All He has to reach those children is thee."

All He has is thee. And what a rich and varied gallery of characters the author has created (among them George Fox and Margaret Fell) to reveal the seed of Light in a troubled and violent world. There is Pissing Gulie, born Gulielma Woodhouse, the virginal, spinsterish sister of the wealthiest merchant in Philadelphia, disdainful of the conventional niceties of her


the radical bible is peace
THE PROPHETS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
clasp hands with today's religious leaders to point the way.
read the RADICAL BIBLE—it's full of hope!
at all bookstores or order directly from
only $1.95
ORBIS BOOKS
MARYKNOLL, NEW YORK 10545

Sacred Scripture
FOURTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE
AUGUST 13-18
Fitzmyer, Maly, Stuhlmueller
Total cost, $100.
Write: Sr. Marianna Gildea, R.S.M.
College Misericordia, Dallas, Pa. 18612

WILDERNESS and the CHALLENGE TO COME ALIVE! Two week summer sessions at high mountain Ecumenical Retreat Center. Seminar leadership includes: Hines, Monaghan, Niebuhr. Time for solitude and renewal; study, discussion, worship, community; wilderness exploration on foot, horseback. Individuals, families. Small, unstructured. Write: Director, RING LAKE RANCH, Dubois, Wyoming 82513.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sex. She becomes a doctor, and, with her medicine chest on the back of a mule, for forty years roams the plains penetrating far beyond the Mississippi to the distant Rockies in her tireless service to the Indians and isolated traders and frontiersmen. There is the rough Buffalo McHair, the lusty hard-drinking Quaker, trapper and Indian trader, sire of more children in the wilderness than he could name. He accompanies with infinite tenderness the dying Gulie to her goal in the land of the Hunis.

There is the harsh, unpleasant Beulah Baker, the dutiful, hard-working wife of Boniface. She longs to be once more the innocent, guesting Beulah of her childhood, but her bondage to husband and children in the shadow of Grandmother Baker ends only with her refusing a call to greatness of spirit and retreating to the comfortable confines of her adoring brother's well-ordered house. There no greater demands will be placed upon her than those of her deaf mute pupils, and she would face damnation with equanimity as long as God permitted her to teach her deaf mutes. There is Cleo the unrelenting slave who lures Caleb the half-breed Quaker slave-master to hang himself in a voodoo trance. She seduces Joshua his successor, in an attempt to destroy him, and then doses Joshua's father, the gentle Boniface, with aphrodisiacs not out of love but out of her implacable hatred and desire for revenge.

One can quarrel with the simple theology—Quakers claim they have none and are not interested in formulating one—and question how accurately the tales reflect the spirit of the times; but it is hard to fault the virtuosity of the teller, or the spirit of compassion in which the tales are told. A Quaker saga? Rather, a historical romance, a Quaker *Gone with the Wind*.

How to subscribe to Commonweal

Just complete this coupon and mail to

COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Ave.,
New York, N. Y. 10016

☐ One year, $14
☐ Two years, $26
☐ 17 issues trial, $3
☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name

Address

City, State, Zip 5/5/72

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 203)

to be preaching to local groups and not be able to be home when he gets among the people. But better to have your theory than the people. It certainly will make it more difficult to defeat Nixon. What excuse will be invented after Wisconsin?

KEVIN CULLEN

Morris, Mn.

To the Editors: I am surprised at Mr. Novak!! There *is* a candidate for the Democratic nomination who is articulating the need for change "in the language of the lower middle class"—Shirley Chisholm!

Why are you men afraid to give her a chance?

I've just met her in Minnesota and heard her talk clearly and forcefully about Nixon's economic policies. She belted out her own priorities in unmistakable, tough language that brought cheers from her listeners. And she wasn't shouting slogans, but giving hard statistics and solid programs.

I was floored to discover she has very broad appeal. White working people here watched her on TV and told me they are turned on. White Republican men described her to me this week as the only qualified candidate running, including Nixon.

She's a winner, Mr. Novak, tough, fully qualified, and unbelievably charismatic. She's talking to the People, who are fed up with fuzzy-tricksy politics and selfish interests.

I urge Mr. Novak and *Commonweal* to pay attention to Shirley Chisholm. Give her some backing and she can beat heck out of Tricky Dick.

JOANNE HART

REPLY: The remarkable ethnic energy of Kevin Cullen might well have burst forth into a splendid report for *Commonweal* on the Irish vote for Senator McGovern in New Hampshire, and on other groups as well. I'm sorry he didn't write it.

The crucial point is to be with the people, 37 percent of whom in New Hampshire and 30 percent in Wisconsin voted for Senator McGovern.

My "ethnic theory" is a good deal less like Moynihan's than Cullen imagines. Senator McGovern is increasingly aware of the problems of urban, ethnic groups, and Senator Muskie has so far shown himself to be far less in touch with them than I had hoped. May the numbers of politicians who learn their needs, aspirations, and creative potential increase. And may a Democrat do better in winning their allegiance than Mr. Nixon—who is quite consciously doing all he can to take the urban, ethnic, Catholic vote into a Republican coalition.

Ms. Chisholm deserves 60 million more supporters like Ms. Hart.

MICHAEL NOVAK

Pricing Books

Boston, Mass.

To the Editors: Re: Msgr. George G. Higgins' comment on the Coles-Berrigan book, *Geography of Faith* [Feb. 25]: Yes, $7.50 might be considered on the high side for a 179-page book. $2.95 for *Geography of Faith* would undoubtedly be better received.

The importance of the message, however, is what concerned us most at Beacon. How could we get this book into the hands of the largest number of readers? We could have published a hardbound edition at $5.95 and sold enough copies to make it economically feasible although even at this price we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would have met sales resistance. So, to minimize price as a determining factor, we published the book simultaneously in paper @ $2.95. The appearance of the paper edition would greatly inhibit the sales of the cloth edition. So we were forced to the $7.50 level for the cloth, which is destined primarily for the library market and those people who buck the paperback book syndrome.

Our paper edition is selling merrily and the cloth edition has met with strong library support. Reviewers have seen the merit we saw and have given the book the favorable comment it deserves. Most reviews, by the way, did note that a paperback was available @ $2.95. I do wish someone at the *Commonweal* had done a little checking before printing your "Shame on Beacon Press!"

GEORGE DAWSON
Marketing Manager,
Beacon Press
Ridgefield, Conn.

Correction

To the Editors: If the final paragraph of my China Trip Comment [March 31] had an odd ring to it, the reason was a dropped negative. The paragraph should have begun: "I myself think this all probably is for the world's best interests, and I feel *no* unqualified sympathy for those Asians who unwisely chose to serve the United States and take our gifts."

WILLIAM PFAFF

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

Michael Novak (Cont.)

the counterculture young of two years ago, but a tougher, more private, more hardheaded generation. (Youth styles change rapidly through peer-group tyranny, and even more through the vivid lessons of each succeeding year's experience.) Ten million new voters are likely in 1972.

The Democrats won't need a candidate of high charisma in order to get out the vote of young workers, working wives and students. A sharp definition of interests will suffice: a better economic break for workers, the promise of full participation and dedication and hard work to students. George McGovern proves this point.

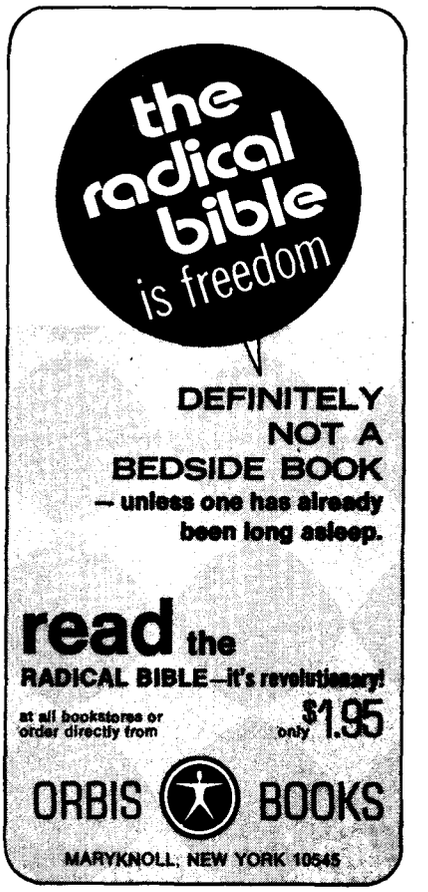
The greatest temporary blow to the anti-Nixon cause is the Muskie decline. Far more than I feared, Muskie has shown himself to be "Americanized," a creature of the media. He hasn't yet grasped the hard edges of being of the people, being Polish, being Catholic—he has tried to be smooth, to say issues don't matter, to live through again the thrill of being thought "calm and reasonable" by comparison with Agnew. His great moments were media-made, in 1968 and 1970. "The media giveth, and the media taketh away," a Chicago journalist put it.

Muskie so far seems inexplicably out of touch with angers, restlessness, people, concerns, interests. He plays calm Yankee. The change of family name from Marcizewski to Muskie, like that of Anagnostopoulos to Agnew, symbolizes his synthetic appearance. His performance suggests a man temporarily out of touch with himself.

In Chicago recently, at a vitally important meeting of ethnic whites, George McGovern came, listened as well as Bobby Kennedy used to, grasped the anxieties and energies, gave a perceptive speech—and received a standing ovation. Muskie, with a lighter schedule, didn't see the point in coming.

The old ethnic politics consisted of trading on one's name or accidental associations (which Muskie tries to do). The new ethnic politics is a matter of grasping the different symbolic shape that "the social issue" has for different ethnic groups, and releasing the creative energies of each. McGovern begins to see; Muskie doesn't.

If a Democrat can unleash the inarticulate angers and aspirations of urban ethnic, largely Catholic working people, that will seal Nixon's fate. "Nixon's the one . . . term President." In Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin urban Catholics will—*if* the Democrats come to them—constitute the sixth decisive reason for Nixon's defeat.


the radical bible is freedom
DEFINITELY NOT A BEDSIDE BOOK
— unless one has already been long asleep.
read the RADICAL BIBLE—it's revolutionary!
at all bookstores or order directly from
only $1.95
ORBIS BOOKS
MARYKNOLL, NEW YORK 10545

Classified

Biblical Institute

● BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, Trinity College, Burlington, Vermont 05401. JUNE 18-23. Anderson, Bennett, Cathcart, Collins, Duncker, Murphy-O'Connor. Write: Director.

African Institute

● SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. Summer Institute, 19 June-14 July, 1972. Designed for Christians, religious and lay, who anticipate working in Africa. Details from Dr. Peter Walshe, African Studies, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556.

Bangladesh

● THE MEDICAL MISSION SISTERS have a team in Satkhira, Bangladesh, taking part in a food program and helping in rebuilding several villages, in addition to their medical work. Contributions should be sent to 8400 Pine Road, Fox Chase, Philadelphia, Pa. 19111.

Vacations

● VERMONT gourmet vacations. Secluded pioneer inn. Brochure. TROLLHAUGEN FARM, Newfane, Vt. 05345. Phone: 802-365-7635.

Classified Rates

Per word (single insertion) 50c
Per word, 3 times 48c
Per word, 7 times 45c
Per word, 13 times 42c

Twelve words minimum.

For box numbers at Commonweal add 50c per insertion.

Classified payable with order, monthly in advance for more than 3 times.

Commonweal
232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IT TOOK US **54 YEARS** TO LEARN WHAT YOU NEED

NOW, WHAT IS IT YOU **WANT?**

Once upon a time, Father John Francis Noll, founder of Our Sunday Visitor, hit upon a brilliant idea of a new service to parishes: Church collection envelopes.

That was in 1917, and today, 54 years after Archbishop Noll's idea, the church collection envelope department of Our Sunday Visitor currently serves thousands of parishes.

Needless to say, we have gotten to know the envelope business pretty well.

We have learned that what might apply to one parish will not apply to another. Hence personalized service.

Also, we have learned that many pastors don't know what they need in church collection envelopes. They have an idea of what they want, but more often than not, they rely on our recommendations and the valuable experience we have gained since 1917.

In return, they get the benefit of our experience, and the best service available from a group of the most dedicated church collection envelope craftsmen in the industry.

Which makes for thousands of happy pastors, and 51 happy workers with an average of 12 years' experience each.

Write us a line and tell us your requirements, or give Pat Eckert a call at (219) 356-8400.

Collect, of course.

He will tell you everything you need to know about church collection envelopes **...we know better**

OSV envelope department

OUR SUNDAY VISITOR, Inc.,
NOLL PLAZA, HUNTINGTON, INDIANA 46750

412

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED